/197 cont./

"girls and boys were by their proud parents often laden with a profusion of native necklaces of bone or shells and their faces painted as attractively as possible" /cited in English/.

themselves with the children, or, as Hyades (4):304 expresses it: "The parents love their children and occupy themselves with them" /translated from French/. Anyone who is not busy with something else is happened when he is spending his time playfully with a child. Parents are also of course, extremely receptive toward any attention and kindness shown their child by neighbors. I have observed that every adult, women more than men, displays much tenderness and affection toward another person's child, without discrimination. If, however, a boy should be a public nuisance because of his naughtiness, he is severely reprimanded and disciplined by everybody alike. In any case, the behavior of adults toward children is quite uniform. Judging from this behavior alone, a European observer will consider a woman for the mother of a child when she is not even a relative. All the good things, even merely a friendly smile, given by a European are valued as too highly by the parents when bestowed upon their child (p. 482). Fitz-Roy (4):185, too, noted: "Both men and women are remarkably fond of the little children, and were always much pleased at any notice taken of them by our parties, when they felt sufficient confidence in us to bring the children forward" /cited in English/.

/198/ By nature the Tasmanian children of today are not as openhearted and uninhibited as the full-bred children. I was very much aware of the difference on my journeys. I explain it on the basis of the disposition of our Foreign group and their greater taciturnity. Nevertheless I succeeded in crossing myself with these little creatures more convincingly and also in pleasing them. Old Alfredo who often saw me amid a group of gay young people simply could not understand why, at my advanced age, I was not yet married. When I discussed it with him, he asked me the unexpected question: "And among your own people can you also romp about with the children as you do here with us?" Not only he, but other people as well found it a great satisfaction that I so much enjoyed playing and frolicking with their little darlings. Thus, there was a repetition of what earlier travelers, such as Snow and Fitz-Roy, had observed.

/732 cont./

551 As the longest male proper name known, I learned of an almost monstrous construction which can probably be regarded as the longest Yamana word, namely, hūmaɣkamĕrnaʋgāʃyatakwĕlakirǯēnjis (i.e., hūmaɣ, "tree trunk tossed ashore by the waves"; kamĕrnaʋgāʃyata, "to be set up, to place upright"; wĕlakirǯ, "rocky or coastal promontory"). This means "man from the place on the shore where a tree trunk washed up by the waves stands upright." This construction corresponds to the rule regarding proper names.

553 Finally a superstitious custom should be noted, /733/ to which Bridges (a):176 long ago referred. "The natives have an idea that naming children early stops their growth, and since children so frequently die in early infancy" /cited in English/. Later Hyades (g):39 referred to this: "They first give their children names when they are about two years old and begin to walk. They say they do this so that, in case a child dies younger than that, they will not accidentally hear his name and be reminded of their loss." As I was able to confirm, however, this custom was adopted less out of superstitious fear than because of the utter uselessness of emphasizing the name of the child during the first 20 months. The child's name is automatically determined by his place of birth. Moreover, it is not customary among our Yamana to address a person present by name or to speak of him by name. This explains why quite generally they do not attach much importance to the proper name.

8. The Baby's Development

●123 Not all the families with whom I was in contact on Cape Horn Archipelago had the pleasure of having small children for company. A few aged persons, who had long since abandoned the hope of offspring, had married only to avoid being alone. Hence I was dependent on a small number of children in my observations and can, therefore, furnish only incomplete data on the development of young lives.

554 The solicitude of the young mother for her darling during the first few weeks of his existence gradually disappears. Not that her love diminishes -- in fact, it increases -- but anxiously vigilant care

/812 cont./

X881 114 he probably gathered independently are valid only for the men's ceremony.

If all that Bridges noted down about the common training of youth at puberty is applied, even unjustifiably, to the youth initiation, it seems so meager that the character of this secret rite is not recognizable even in rudimentary form. It remained completely undisclosed to European insight, like so many other valuable treasures, until shortly before the decline of this people.

2. My Participation

X881 123 It seems to me important to point out that up to my second journey the above references in Bridge's writings were completely unknown to me. My vague conjecture that in the declining years of these people I would still discover secret ceremonies was precipitated by a reference of Cooper's:156 that among the Yamana such rites had not been held for at least four decades. Since I was nevertheless privileged to experience the men's secret rites and the school for the medicine man, besides the initiation, I may be justified in maintaining that I was the sole discoverer of the čiéxaus and the first to understand its underlying idea.

There is no other institution about which our Indians are as strictly silent as they are about the youth initiation. Their reticence in this matter could be compared only with their habit of never repeating the name of a deceased person. In their daily life there is actually almost no occasion to speak of it, and if it [195] should be necessary, they regularly resort to circumlocution which they are also fond of using on other occasions. One would not go astray in tracing to this circumstance the fact that Bridges could learn little more than the name /813/ of this ceremony. Fred Lawrence, who at the time of my first initiation had been married to Nelly almost 20 years, had learned from her, as well as from the rest of the Yamana, a great many of their customs, and had himself been a good observer, had only a few vague impressions about the čiéxaus. His older brother Martin knew nothing at all about it. As for the venerable Reverend John Lawrence, he had one of his greatest surprises when I outlined my experience to him after my first participation. Two years later I told him that I took

/813 cont./

X 881 123

part in the čiéxaus in Mejillones, in other words, that I had become acquainted with this ceremony a second time. He was sincerely happy about my success and told me quite frankly that he had never made an effort to gain the confidence of the natives to such an extent that he could take part in their secret rites. Thus, the facts are convincing enough that the Yamana conceal the čiéxaus in strict silence even from one of their own people.

When I began my investigations among these people, there was only a handful of older persons left who could tell me with some certainty about the uncorrupted practices and customs of earlier times and answer my questions. The final moment had come to rescue valuable cultural possessions from total oblivion! I was fully aware of this and felt the weight of my responsibility. It will now be understandable why I seized the opportunity to take part in the čiéxaus with steadfast determination, and with indefatigable tenacity I worked with the natives until the entire contents of the ceremony was saved for scientific study. Even the greatest exertion on my part, however, would not have led me to my goal if I had not had the all-surmounting help of kind Nelly Lawrence. In the final analysis it was her decisive influence on her countrymen that made them decide in January, 1920, to put on an initiation ceremony and let me take part in it as an actual candidate.

a. My First Youth Initiation

After a general survey of the possibilities for research among the Fuegians, which I obtained on my first journey (p. 164 /untranslated/), I decided to begin my work with the Yamana. At the end of December, 1919, I was again in Punta Remolino where, shortly before, several Indian families had gathered (p. 175 /untranslated/). During the day the men were busy on the farm, and it was only in the evening and during rainy weather that they formed a circle around the hut fire of a venerable old man in order to talk. I was never absent on these occasions. Even after the first week of my stay there, we had grown accustomed to one another, they told me many things, and they were soon so friendly

X481 /813 cont./
123 that without embarrassment they began to speak of their myths.

/814/ One evening I noticed that a few men to whom old Alfredo had secretly given a hint sent the boys and girls out of the hut. Their excuse was that it was getting late and the children should go to bed. It was not until the adults were alone that Alfredo told two stories. Obviously the children were not supposed to know about them. Then I realized that on the previous evening and the evening before an oppressive embarrassment had hung over the adults and the really uninhibited flow of talk had not begun until all the youngsters had been removed. On one of the following evenings I asked them directly: "Why do you not tell these stories when a child is present here in the hut?" A younger man was ready, almost too ready, with the answer: "Only those who have been in the čiéxaus are permitted to know all that!" These words had an extremely embarrassing effect on all the men -- there did not happen to be any women present. They tried to cover it up by summoning all their self-control, but I was aware of it. I felt only too clearly that the man had been somewhat hasty and blurted out something which he should have held in strict secrecy. Dead silence! Minutes passed and no one dared to pick up the thread of the story. When some dogs outside suddenly broke the deadly stillness of the night by starting a fight, all the men, as though released from a spell, started up with exaggerated eagerness and rushed out of the hut. They soon dispersed and disappeared into their dwellings. There was nothing for me to do but to seek my bed also. I could not sleep, however, because of the excitement of having found a clue to a noteworthy matter (p. 177 /untranslated/).

The next morning I tried in vain even with well-meaning Chris to find out something more specific about the strange words that had been spoken the night before. On this evening the men were unmistakably slow-witted when I strongly suggested that we assemble around old Alfredo's hut fire as on the previous evenings. After much urging most of them finally sat down together again and we spoke of this and that. Scarcely had the children retired when, with recognizable firmness I put the question: "Exactly what does čiéxaus, which I heard last night, mean?" They obviously did not like this demand, and one of them cut me off with

X881 123

/814 cont./ the brief remark: "One does not speak about that!" Well, at least I knew that there must be something significant connected with this word and that I would learn nothing more about it from the men.

I could not let this strange matter rest. I promised myself some enlightenment from good old Nelly, and she did not disappoint me. From her I got the first intimation that the Yamana have an actual, well-developed youth initiation. /815/ After that I gave her no peace until one day she assured me that this ceremony would be carried out by her countrymen when their farm work was over and that I might take part in it (245).

245. On pages 179 and 184 /both untranslated/ I described how I influenced her and her husband Fred Lawrence and what in addition she herself did independently. Compare also Gusinde (b):149.

From now on I occasionally ventured to drop a remark about it to the old people; I plainly expressed to them my happiness at soon being permitted to see their beautiful ceremony. At first, however, nothing in the world would make them accept the idea, and they simply could not grasp the notion that a European should enter the sacredness of their čiéxaus. One evening, at the instigation of his wife, Fred Lawrence called all the men together. He told them point-blank of Nelly's wish and emphatically demanded that they begin this ceremony. He referred to all the help and assistance that both of them had always given them. Since I was a beloved guest of the Lawrence family and also a desirable comrade of the Yamana, they must not deny me admission along with Nelly. In spite of stubborn objections on the part of a few men, Fred firmly persisted in his demand. As though for spite, they, in turn, made it a condition that I must conduct myself exactly like the actual candidates, uswáala, just as ancient custom demands of each of their children who is first introduced into the Great Hut. As soon as Fred informed me of this and I had, of course, agreed (246), the men calmed down somewhat,

246. In spite of my advanced age, this demand

/815 cont./

X881
• 123

> was not unusual. Particularly in recent times it has occasionally happened that a Yamana did not have an opportunity to be initiated until early manhood. For example, one of the candidates who entered when I did was 27 years old. They do not bother about age, but they do demand actual participation sooner or later.

but still struggled for a long time with the monstrous idea that a European should experience the čiéxaus (247). Meanwhile Nelly

> 247. In Volume I, 814, I described the serious difficulties I was obliged to overcome before the Selk'nam admitted me to their men's secret rites.

inspired the old women with enthusiasm for her plan, and with them, particularly, she had the desired success.

While the men finished their work on the farm, I arranged with Fred Lawrence to provide food for all participants. We had promised them that we would be responsible for the needs of everyone during the ceremony so that no one would be impeded by food-seeking and we would thus be assured of a smooth running of the affair. He was kind enough to provide the necessary sheep; I bought flour, legumes, coffee, and sugar, besides a few little things. In their leisure hours the old men discussed the plan in detail among themselves. Quite voluntarily they gathered around Alfredo as the one with the most experience and yielded to his decisions. The women prepared the small ornaments that are necessary and /816/ gradually put themselves into the serious mood of this ceremony. Nelly felt an indescribably great satisfaction as her longed-for čiéxaus approached. Meanwhile I personally was with the men a good deal and showed obvious willingness to meet all the demands that would be put upon me.

X881
346

It was agreed to erect the Great Hut close to the farm buildings in Punta Remolino, out of consideration for Nelly who could not be separated from her family for a longer period and who wanted her three grown daughters to take part in the concluding ceremony. Round about lay the huts and the smaller dwellings

/816 cont./

X 881 346 of the Indians; hence it was not necessary for them to move. Even before the farm work was finished, Alfredo, who was the actual leader of the festival, had appointed four men as watchmen. It was their duty to keep a strict watch so that no one should approach who was not invited or who would cause any kind of disturbance and particularly that all the children left behind in the camp would be scrupulously quiet. Hardly was everyone free when the younger men went into the woods and cut suitable small beech trunks which were shaped and prepared on the festival site. Meanwhile old Alfredo, along with other men, built the framework, and the watchmen attended to their duty whenever a few inquisitive children came too close. Each time they uttered the same strange cry, which everyone knows and fears. Within three days the Great Hut stood there, covered and finished. It was 12 meters long on the ground, with a maximum width of 2.60 meters in the center and a maximum height, also in the center, of 2.40 meters. It was long, with an almost uniform slope, and had a long elliptical outline. After that the fire was lighted inside.

X 681 881 123 Slowly all the men and the older women assembled. After making a quick selection, they squatted down in a place which they retained the whole time thereafter. Then they considered which young people were to be introduced as candidates. The bitter realization of their sad destiny now struck these people in the Great Hut with full force when they saw how few candidates there were left. At first it looked as though there were no young people who could be chosen for uswáala, for this or that family had only very small children. They agreed on 17-year-old Homestead and on Clement who was already 27 years old, but had never before been initiated in this ceremony. I was the third candidate.

While these deliberations were going, the rest of the adults who wanted to experience the whole procedure arrived. Their attitude was as reserved as though they were going to a religious ceremony. For more than an hour they maintained the deepest silence and strongest composure. Then Alfredo started singing a monotonous, sad song which a few others softly accompanied. They all sat there earnestly and thoughtfully and continued singing. This was the opening of the ceremony. In the late

/816 cont./

X881 123 /Plate 2 appears here/ /817/ afternoon, upon a signal from the leader, the four watchmen, equipped with leather straps, crept out of the Great Hut. They caught first me, then Clemente, and finally Homestead. They brought each of us to the hut separately. I could, therefore, quietly observe the strange ghostly scene which was repeated, as it had been for me, as each of the other two candidates was pushed in through the entrance.

After that each of the three of uswas constantly under the care of his sponsors. This service was performed in my case by Chris and Gertie. Later I learned that they had specifically asked to do it because they had no children. I now followed the proceedings of the entire ceremony day and night. The burdensome compulsory posture for long hours was indescribably agonizing, I sorely missed sleep and physical movement, and hunger made me very weak, but the serious leader, Alfredo, remained adamant concerning all the requirements and spared neither me nor the other two candidates. I was only exempted from bathing at night in the cold water of Beagle Channel (p.711). I found the strict prohibition against taking notes and asking any kind of questions incomparably more difficult, however, than the purely external rigors. The weakness from which my entire body suffered was transmitted to my memory and power of perception. Many details, since they were not explained, escaped my attention. Nevertheless, I was content, since my being in this Great Hut was in itself rare good fortune.

Everything served to discipline the candidate's will-power and self-control, to teach and admonish him, and to make him physically and practically efficient. The basic principles of the Kíexaus became clearly illuminated, and its high moral value became apparent from the golden rules of life that a special master teacher, this time old Whaits, recited to us almost every evening. Under the guidance of a capable man, I often had to go out with the other two candidates for all kinds of tasks and hunting, which are the man's life work. Occasionally stories were told, some of which I had already learned confidentially, but anything concerning the Yoálox /a family of culture heroes/ can be repeated only in this sacred hut. Here for the first time I became acquainted with the mimes and the various songs and dances. From day to

/817 cont./

X881 123 day my observations and experiences were augmented. Everything pleased me very much, in spite of considerable deprivation and physical weakness.

The diversified schedule of the festival proceeded without interruption; all the participants were in the best mood and showed the greatest seriousness. Several times a day Nelly also entered the Great Hut. She took part in everything so conscientiously and enthusiastically that she inspired the other adults by her example. After ten days the conclusion of the ceremonies was agreed upon by the old people. For this particularly festive occasion Nelly had also brought her three grown daughters into the Great Hut. Altogether we were only 24 persons, but everyone was very eager /818/ during the spirited, lively concluding festivities. Every face showed complete contentment and great satisfaction with the success of this ceremony. During the last common meal everyone was happy and gay. The older men expressed their gratification at my great willingness in the face of all the rigors which I, too, could not be spared. One of them whispered in my ear: "Come again next summer; then we shall repeat this festival and afterwards you may enter the kína!" Later it was explained to me that kína is the name for the men's secret ceremony and that every man is obliged to be uswáala twice in the čiéxaus before he is admitted to it. During the course of this final meal the good mood of the people was so intensified that they cried out often and loudly: "This was the best čiéxaus. We'll repeat it next summer!" Since they urged me, I gladly promised to come back then, for in my mind I already had visions of the kína which I wanted to become acquainted with also.

Wanderlust was beginning to take hold of these people. By the second day after the čiéxaus ended, the last of them had left Punta Remolino. I entered the many experiences in my diary from memory, and soon after I, too, took leave of that beloved place. In the comprehensive account below the experiences of my first initiation will be evaluated (248).

248. In Gusinde (b):150 there is a somewhat more detailed description of my first initiation ceremony, which I experienced in Punta Remolino in February, 1920 (p. 179 /untranslated/).

/818 cont./

β. My Second Youth Initiation

X881 123 In January, 1922, I returned to the territory of the Yamana for the third time and with the special purpose of seeing the kína (p. 184 /untranslated/). Since the preliminary condition for this was that one had to be tested twice in the čiéxaus, I naturally counted on a repetition of the latter. This time more families had gathered in Punto Remolino than two years before. To my regret, old Alfredo and his wife were missing, both of whom had been remarkably useful and helpful to me on my earlier visit. I was told they were far out around the southernmost Wollaston Islands where the woman's home was.

The people were easily won over to our plan, and scarcely had I returned to Punta Remolino with my companion, Father Koppers, from a short visit among the Selk'nam when our preparations and theirs began. This time we wanted to be completely undisturbed and quite free. Hence everyone agreed to go to Puerto Mejillones. Most of them have a little wooden house there, had left behind all kinds of implements, and felt much more comfortable in that favorite spot than here under the eyes of certain Europeans. I bought quite a number of food supplies and naturally also /819/ a goodly number of fat sheep. The Indians effortlessly packed together their few belongings. Nelly did not conceal her regret at not being able to join us immediately and promised to visit us occasionally. The work on the farm this summer had been delayed unusually long. When it was finally finished in the last few days of February, Fred Lawrence willingly put his cutter "Garibaldi" at our disposal for the crossing. Everything was loaded, we went aboard, and in the early forenoon of March 1, 1922, we crossed Beagle Channel due south (p. 185 /untranslated/).

When they arrived in Puerto Mejillones, each family without delay hastened to their dwelling and again comfortably installed themselves. We had no other choice but the little house of Santiago, for this time he had to take over the leadership of the čiéxaus. He had beforehand reserved the sponsorship of Koppers for himself and his wife; this was reason enough for us to associate more closely with him. My sponsors were, as two years previously Chris and Gertie. Soon there was a general discussion among the

/867 cont./

X881 867 One understands the difficult position of many an uśwą̈ala in view of the fact that every adult has the right to criticize and correct him in anything that he feels is necessary. Many a relative and friend has previously perhaps made a fruitless effort in behalf of a boy or girl, his influence having been of brief duration. Here, however, the candidate is in the hands of the adult for a longer period. The latter makes the best use of this opportunity, for it is the last, so to speak. After his initiation every [885] candidate regards himself more or less as one of the adults. Time and again the uśwą̈ala is told explicitly: "You are now old enough. Up to now your father and mother have provided food for you, made a place for you in the hut, and helped you in everything. They [your parents] have taken enough trouble with you over a period of many years, you may no longer be a burden to them. Seek your life's companion soon and stay by yourself [in your own dwelling] (286)!"

123

286. I, personally, experienced for myself how seriously they take the admonitions directed toward a prompt marriage. On my second visit I had shown the Yamana various photographs and pointed out each person as in some way related to me. I said to them: "This is my mother, my grandfather, my paternal uncle, and so forth." I was using this means to induce them to let me photograph them. After a while they asked: "Won't you also show us a picture of your wife?" When I assured them that I was not yet married, they found it incomprehensible that a person of my age should still be single. At the end of my first initiation that year, old Alfredo, the leader of the affair, said to me: "We have taught you many good things in the Great Hut, now act accordingly! When you get back to your people do not forget to take a girl as your wife!" In order to show myself obliging to the dear old man, I replied affirmatively: "I shall gladly comply with your words and also soon look

/867 cont./

123

for a wife'" During the subsequent years I completely forgot this promise which, to begin with, was not meant to be taken seriously.

I did not see Alfredo again until my fourth journey (p. 187 /untranslated/). One day, within a circle of men, I passed around many photographs which I had taken the year before and gave a few explanations about them. The Yamana also made comments. Finally Alfredo turned to me and asked in so many words: "Didn't you also bring a photograph of your young wife?" I was not prepared for this question. The old man looked me sternly in the eye, and I stammered, half instinctively, half embarrassed: "Oh, well now, I completely forgot to get married!" The gentle features of the good old man suddenly changed, and after a short pause which was embarrassing to me, he exposed me in front of those present in a reproachful tone: "Here we let you enter the Great Hut, gave you good instruction, and you pay no attention to it!... Who gets your food for you?" I replied: "My father." He: "From whom do you get your clothing?" I: "From my mother." He: "Where do you live?" I: "With my parents." He continued with the forceful admonition: "Shame on you! Your parents have been working for you so many years already, and you are still a burden to them. They have certainly done enough for you!...Isn't there any girl among your people who likes you and would like to marry you?" I pretended to be very much ashamed, and I loudly assured the well-meaning old man: "This time when I get home, I shall really get married immediately and be very nice to my parents!" He calmed down after these words. All who were present took sides with him against me.

/1031 cont./

114 Unfortunately, the Europeans who had all kinds of opportunities
121 to do this during their sojourn on the Cape Horn Archipelago did not fully meet this demand. In their defense it is willingly admitted that they were given no particular assignment to do this, nor were they specially prepared. The English missionaries, who, in retrospect, must be loudly praised for their exemplary zeal in the study of the Yamana language, strangely enough made almost no effort to gain a deeper understanding of the souls of these Indians, despite the fact that they lived with them for decades. A small residual group of survivors was already on the brink of the grave into which a once populous tribe had by now disappeared, when as yet no full account of their /1032/ spiritual endowment had been offered by reliable research and preserved for the history of humanity. Hence I chose to make it my most important task to rescue these treasures at the eleventh hour. No less a person than W. Schmidt (d):879 declares "that, as far as the spiritual culture of the Fuegians is concerned, [my] four expeditions alone surpass in quantity as well as quality of achievements all the work of the previous authors put together."

121 A number of favorable circumstances helped me in this work, and these will have to be mentioned in the proper place. In spite of decades of contact with a great many features of European culture, the Fuegians have retained the total content of their spiritual heritage, not only practically intact, but also in its pristine state. This shows that it was vital and irreplaceable for them, and that after it was lost the undisturbed continuance of the people as a whole was impossible. The Yamana themselves know what it was that held them together and what was guaranteed them by orderly, peaceable conditions of life; they called it simply "that which was handed down to us by our forefathers in the way of habits and customs." They were also sensitively aware that their doom would be sealed the moment they deviated from it or were prevented by outside influences from carrying on their tribal life according to the previous patterns.

114 I remained aware of my serious responsibility while undertaking
● 123 the four expeditions into the Cape Horn region, and I ceaselessly tried to feel my way into the strange conceptual world of the Yamana. This required time and in this I was helped by the long free months away from Tierra del Fuego between the four separate

/1032 cont./

114 expeditions. My repeated return, on the other hand, properly
123 strengthened the Indians in their belief that I esteemed them and their various institutions highly. That is why they proved more accommodating and more trusting from one year to the next and were more willing to let me take part in one thing or another from which they had previously excluded me. The more I tried to rid myself of the European way of thinking and acquired values and to exchange them for those of the Fuegians, the more advance I made in learning their subjective qualities. The hoary connoisseurs of tribal tradition felt this approach very definitely and with great satisfaction, regarded me more and more as one of themselves, and finally let me penetrate into the immeasurable depths of the inner spirit of their tribe. After arduous research and by means of constant observation and thorough discussion, those treasures from the spiritual heritage of the much misunderstood Yamana which fill the following pages were brought to light. They are all the more valuable because they reach back into the early age of mankind from which they have been preserved down to our own day because of the complete isolation of the feared Cape Horn Archipelago at the southern tip of America.

/1033/ A. Religion and Morality

771 Because of their nomadic way of life the Yamana do not present the compact unity enjoyed, for example, by an agricultural society. It is probably for this reason that they have cultivated a high level of mental flexibility and that they show alertness in all spheres of their human endeavors. Hence it was possible for definite, universally binding forms to develop only to a limited extent, since, on the one hand, the numerically scant population lives scattered in many, small fragmentary groups and, on the other hand, each of these groups, as well as the single individual, strives to preserve for itself the greatest possible freedom and independence.

Even more striking is the scarcity of definite forms expressing their religious conceptions. As such, these are very limited, and people like our Fuegians do not parade them. Quite the contrary, everything supernatural is regarded by them with such seriousness and piety that they do not make it the subject of long, penetrating

/1041 cont./

124 After a good long time and probably also in order to break the
113 general silence, Chris boldly said: "Watauineiwa is [similar to]
116 what God is to Christians [Europeans]." His brief words were spoken in a tone which made it clear to me that further questions would not be in order. The attitude of all the men was clearly aloof. Some of them had an expression suggesting that in this discussion some information had heedlessly slipped out which should have remained secret. After that the men timidly exchanged a few words and the gathering soon broke up.

On the next evening I dared not ask about Watauineiwa again; I suspected that the people would misunderstand. It was partly caution and partly disappointment that made me think the missionaries had told these Indians the Biblical account of the flood, but that they had not completely understood it. Hence I entered the following remark in my diary: "Probably Christian influence by the missionaries" and marked the whole paragraph with a question mark.

• 123 A week later the secret gathering of the čiéraus began, in
116 which I was able to participate in March, 1920 (p. 176 /untranslated/). At that time I was treated as strictly as the Indian uiwala and was not allowed to ask questions or to take notes. I remember clearly that at this initiation the names Watauineiwa and Hidšbuan were repeatedly used, but I was fully aware of what they meant only two years later when those names were again recalled to my memory. Although I did not grasp the fact on that occasion, I had actually discovered the Supreme Being whom the Yamana worship. I had finally come close to their religious faith.

123 On my third visit at the end of January, 1922, the men were not yet free for the planned čiéraus celebration (p. 184 /untranslated/). In order to spend the time profitably, W. Koppers, who accompanied me at that time (p. 181 /untranslated/), and I did a good deal of research during the day with the Indian women. Nelly Lawrence was regularly and gladly present and thanks to her personal stimulation the women willingly answered our questions. We all wanted to be undisturbed, and so we assembled daily in the shed, a spacious corrugated tin house in which the /1042/ Lawrence family had major housework performed, laundry, for example. This house stood apart from the small dwellings of the Yamana families.

/1127 cont./

765
123

Any death can be the occasion for a yamalaśemōina which unites many people, but a murder always induces it within the shortest possible time. In individual cases, however, the Yamana do not follow a definite rule, but make it contingent on whether enough members of the tribe assemble. An example may explain this. In March, 1923, several men had conducted the medicine-man school on Navarino Island. The following night, on March 24, 1923, the wife of old Thomas finally died of a long illness. I was startled out of my sleep by loud moans and lamentation from all the huts. It was not until dawn that I went to the place where the dead woman lay, surrounded by many people who were weeping and groaning in genuine sorrow. I purposely presented myself as a sympathetic, but altogether silent onlooker, and they were all appreciative that I was not in the least disturbing. A deeply felt mood of sorrow lay oppressively on the small Indian settlement. I was reverently silent and very reserved so that the people should not be influenced in any way and could express their feelings without restraint, /1128/ for I was, of course, the only White among these Fuegians. I carefully observed each one and the group as a whole. I gained the impression that the mood and the emotions of everyone grew more animated from hour to hour. Toward eleven o'clock Santiago happened to pass me. Heedlessly and with a tearful voice he said to me: "We are all terribly sad, so we shall soon begin the yamalaśemōina!" And that is what happened. The fact that a considerable number of families were already gathered together proved favorable and probably decisive. On another occasion they would have had to wait and call together the individual families. Conditions are right for the yamalaśemōina if enough people are assembled and the requisite mood has developed either through the discussions of the old people or in view of an impending death.

It was incalculably valuable for me to have personally experienced the large funeral ceremony at the time on Navarino Island (p. 190 /untranslated/). The woman was buried around noon in exactly the way our Fuegians had learned from Europeans. After that they gathered in a spacious little house while I retired by myself to the house of Santiago. In the other hut the singing and wailing which had long been familiar to me soon began, and many people were taking part, as I could

/1128 cont./

765 gather from the tumult of voices which reached me. This ac-
• 123 tivity had been going on for about an hour when a man came to me and asked me in a pleading tone whether I would go over to them. Plaintively he made it clear to me that everything I should see and hear there could not please me personally because all the people were in an extremely sad mood, but that they would nevertheless appreciate it greatly if I condoled with them and showed that I shared their sorrow. The good old man had no idea how eagerly I had been waiting for an invitation, for how could I have afforded to miss an opportunity of seeing these Fuegians open up completely and reveal their innermost feelings in front of everyone. I followed him without delay to the assembly of mourners. Truly, what I experienced far exceeded my expectations, and here I became fully acquainted with the innermost attitudes of these Indians. Without fear of men and without the slightest shame they loudly expressed their thoughts and feelings; they spoke of their Supreme Being with a matter-of-factness that seemed to come from daily habit and that surprised me, treating him as though he were one of them. At the same time, without any effort on my part and like a gift of grace, a goodly number of the ancient laments and prayer formulas dropped into my lap. I was already familiar with some of them, but here I saw how the Indians use them in a state of utmost anguish and spiritual agitation. I was astonished at the easy naturalness with which men as well as women abusively reproached the Supreme Being. Some of them seemed to me like naughty pupils who have been punished /1129/ and who, aware of their own helplessness, sulkily discuss it with their teacher. All seemed to have freed themselves of any restraint.

765 As may be seen from what has been said, there are no definite regulations for the participants in the yamalaĕemójna. For obvious reasons, the nearest and more distant relatives, friends, and neighbors gather with the family who is mourning a recently deceased person. Everyone wants to comfort the mourners and to accompany them in their daily tíiaywaja. Word of the death soon spreads, and no one hesitates to seek out the survivors. Everyone says to himself: "Anyone who is in mourning expects others to condole with him. Some day, I, too, shall be in mourning and then I shall want to have many comfort

X 575 171

/1312 cont./

The Selk'nam in their Kloketen ceremony (Vol. I, 808) have an arrangement in which, if one can express it thus, the two Yamana institutions of the Čiéjaus and the kina are, at least outwardly, combined. The basic character and the many details of the kina embrace precisely the kinds of ideas and the means of expressing them that may be summed up as constituting an actual men's ceremony. Everything that is included in such a ceremony is more pronounced in the klóketen of the Selk'nam. This klóketen proves to be a more original form, scarcely corrupted or weakened in any way, although it is at the same time an actual initiation of youth. In order to facilitate comparison of these secret ceremonies among the two neighboring tribes, I have arranged the following description with reference to the account of the klóketen ceremony. The portrayal, which is not too voluminous, /1313/ has historical as well as factual value, because I was the first European to learn about the kina from personal observation and because it proved to be the last ceremony of its kind. It is a strange coincidence that I, as the first European, was permitted to experience and, through direct participation, to become intimately acquainted with the last klóketen, which the Selk'nam held in 1923, and the last kina, which the Yamana celebrated in 1922 (267).

X 575 123

> 267. I reaped important benefits from having witnessed the Kina of the Yamana before seeing the more clearly defined and elaborate form of the men's ceremony of Klóketen among the Selk'nam. I have pointed this out in a number of places; compare at least Vol. I, 816, as well as Gusinde (g):973 and (q):277.

a. Information through Europeans

X 575 114

The Kina is a secret ceremony to which, on principle, only adult men are admitted. A Yamana will very seldom speak about it in everyday life. Even when men are among themselves, the word kina is scarcely ever mentioned. This circumstance alone

X 515 114 /1914 comm./ masked themselves on this occasion, shouting and dancing as long as their strength persisted" /translated from French/. Hyades (q):377, for his part, refers to "an unpublished work" of the missionary Bridges. I cite this manuscript under (i) and have just quoted the pertinent sentences. The allusions offered by Spegazzini (e):170 are quite vague and scant. A sentence in Wieschoff:30 says even less on the subject. Finally, and most recently, Spencer:111 mentions the aim of this secret ceremony in the following brief words: "The initiation of the young men is supposed to prevent women from taking their dominion over men and making them again lead a dog's life" /cited in English/. Apparently he does not know the difference between the actual youth initiation and the men's ceremony.

2. My Personal Participation

X 515 123 The vague references to the Kina celebration in widely scattered publications which were available up to the time of my journeys were not such as to give me any kind of guide, and even less so because *Tal'ange* and *Kina* are almost always confused and deceptively linked. Instead, I obtained the first direct hint on my second journey from the Tomano themselves (p. 180 /untranslated/). On that occasion, when we had ended the *Tal'ange*, the people expressed their boundless joy over the undisturbed, smooth way in which the celebration had proceeded and also the cordial manner I had shown in taking part in it as an actual *ol'ogain*. In this connection they declared themselves willing, on a later occasion, to make it possible for me to participate a second time in the *Tal'ange*. This would earn me the right to enter the Kina (p.458). At that time I already knew a good deal about the procedure of this celebration; I had also learned the basic ideas of the so-called myth of the upheaval and was thus able to anticipate with confidence a regular men's festival with its definite repudiation of the influence of the female world.

In that year, when I again took leave of the Tomano who were very affectionate toward me, I told them that I expected to come back the following summer, and, as a matter of fact,

L: Gminde--1210 S-E (1910-1958) 1957 GMB Tübingen KHS

/156 cont./

we were together again in the summer of 1921. At that time it was my special goal to repeat the *Fäkeng* and immediately to follow it with the *kîne* (p. 196 /continued/). Both events came about, and so I learned about the men's festival from direct participation at that time. This festival was nowhere near what it had been back in the days when the Tamara were completely independent and not yet decimated. The reason for this was largely the inexperience of most of the participants concerning the actual program, for a good 30 years had gone by since the last ceremony of this kind, and for all the men of middle age the 6.ten of March, /157/ 1921, was the first of their lives, elderly as it was for me. It is understandable that a good deal of uncertainty about the many details had a decidedly paralyzing effect on the few old people who felt responsible for the smooth running of the affair. Formerly an unaffected, uncomplicated joy and satisfaction made the heart of every Tamara man beat faster when he had been able to play a real trick in this secret but on the defenseless women, but this time it did not fully develop. The constant pressure I exerted to bring about this affair had a decisive effect, I must confess. The old people became more and more timid the nearer we came to the planned opening. I advantagingly worked on a few young men and persuaded them that they, in turn, must try to influence the old men to let them, at long last, experience a Kîne. Yielding to pressure from two sides, Pedro Molenbeen was finally won over, and in Puerto Mejillones in March, 1922, the men's ceremony took place. It was truly the last of its kind for the few surviving Tamara. At that time it immediately followed the *Fäkeng* and was limited to an unusually short period. The details have been described in Gminde (p.)438 (p. 186 /continued/). Despite many obscurities, the nature and goal, the program and procedure of this intrinsically complex affair could be observed and established in all its details. On my fourth journey I was privileged to take part in the *Kîne-Fäkeng*. On this occasion I was given the complete version of the myth of the upheaval, which tells of the origin of the *kîne* and many other things [270]. In the following pages I have set down in logical

270. The specific conditions and circumstances are described in Gminde (p.)468.

/1317 cont./
order the facts that I learned from personal experience and from the accounts of reliable Tonsea about their men's festival.

b. Preparation for the Festival

From whatever point of view one looks at kina, it is far behind the lifuyog in importance. Therefore it is not surprising to find that the entire program of this affair, from beginning to end, is by no means bound by the strict formalities of an ordered and rigid system comparable to those that hold together the richly varied lifuyog. Nevertheless, in the orderly succession of individual events, the rules governing the kina are adequate to achieve the goal concerning both the women in the camp and the young men who are getting their first introduction to it. There is much more scope here than in the lifuyog for the free display of the personal talents of the leader and its effect on the prevailing mood of the men taking part.

/1318/ 1. Occasion and Duration

From the point of view of character and aim, in other words, for subjective reasons, the Kina is by no means as necessary for a given group within Tonsea society as is the youth initiation. There is no really urgent reason why it should be held at one time rather than another. A person who has sat in the lifuyog but twice as an ulo-ulo is an adult through that alone; he can get married and establish his own independent household. The public is very watchful to see that every child of both sexes experiences the initiation (p.449) and even remains adamant toward a child who could not be made a lifuyog ulo-ulo and has meanwhile long since become an adult in years (p.449). The public, as well as men's histories, however, are quite indifferent about whether or not he has experienced the Kina. Here the candidates do not receive an education in the strict sense of the word, and if a man temporarily has no knowledge of the men's secret or is deprived of it for some time, he does not thereby suffer any disadvantage worth mentioning.

/1383 cont./

X756 171 Selk'nam are believed to be far more powerful and more malevolent in their activities than are the full-fledged yẽkamuš of the Yamana. Whereas the body of thought of the medicine-man system among the Selk'nam is consistently worked out and elaborately developed, there are very often gaps in the train of ideas pertaining to the yẽkamuš. The Yamana, however, have a well organized medicine-man school which the Selk'nam have not achieved; it is well known that the primary goal of the latter's Peẽére is not the training of young members of the calling (Vol. I, 787).

X756 [23] It was often tiring to follow my informants in their involved lines of thought through the realm of yẽkamuš conceptions. I was substantially helped by the extraordinary advantage of being permitted to attend the so-called lõima-yẽkamuš, a medicine-man school in the actual sense of the word. The many observations and explanations that I gathered on this subject in the course of my journeys follow in an arrangement for clarity. When I translate the designation yẽkamuš as "medicine man," I am by no means giving an exact and clear explanation or a definition. I am well aware that hitherto neither ethnology nor particularly ethnopsychology has attempted to draw a sharp line of distinction between the content of the terms: medicine man, sorcerer, witch doctor, magic priest, and shaman. The term "sorcerer" does not include a large part of the purely suggestive influence on ordinary people by the yẽkamuš, and neither "witch doctor" nor "shaman" indicates that the yẽkamuš is believed to have considerable influence upon natural forces. "Medicine man" is a term whose varied connotation is familiar from conditions in North America. Terms such as "doctor," "physician," and "healer" are either not very appropriate or wholly unsuitable for our purposes because each implies the conception of an activity directed against a physical ailment or against infirmities of the sick body. In contrast to this the yẽkamuš exerts his influence on the psychic life of the tribesmen, which is why he deserves far more to be called "physician of souls" (315) or "spiritual adviser." The following

315. An attempt to clarify these terms among the South American Indians according to